

‘THE PAST IS A FOREIGN COUNTRY’: REIMAGING FORMOSA AS A TRANSLATION SPACE IN THE RED FORT MUSEUM

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ABSTRACT: ‘The past is a foreign country’ is more than a metaphor for the strangeness of the past – it is often a reality of what Sherry Simon refers to as ‘translation space’, with its layers of everyday practices across time carried out in different languages and cultural norms. This article examines the reconstruction of a heritage site in Taiwan to explore how translation acts as a gatekeeper by selecting what aspects of the past are carried into the present. It explores both the physical space of the heritage site and the imagined space conceived by a foreign traveller’s diary and its translations. While the physical site anchors intangible memories in place, literary texts – containing the memories of individual writers (mediated through translators) – reactivate the ruins. The combination of the two spaces transforms the heritage site into a live performance of a (translated) past.

KEYWORDS: Translation Space, Museum Translation, Cultural Heritage, Discordant Translation

1. Introduction

“The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there.” (Hartley, 1953)

The well-known quotation from L. P. Hartley’s novel *The Go-Between* (1953) challenges the assumption, often upheld in historicist thought, that the past and present form an unbroken temporal continuum. Instead, the past can be so distinct in its behaviours, norms and values that it feels like an unfamiliar foreign country. The quotation is echoed in the title of historian David Lowenthal’s seminal work, *The Past Is a Foreign Country – Revisited* (2015) in which he examines how memory shapes our relationship with the past. He presents a vivid visual account of how the past enters the present:

the past is more and more bitterly contested, a prime arena of envious rivalry, clamour over purloined paintings [...], the opening of archives and the closing of libraries, demands for national and tribal restitution, court trails over repressed and false memories, quarrels over memorials and monuments [...] make the past the world’s largest – and most costly – legal arena. (Lowenthal, 2015, p. 15)

The winners of these competitions are the memories that are selected and reactivated through various modes, including the republication of literature, the erection of monuments or the inclusion of past artefacts in museum displays. Paul Williams echoes this view of contested histories in his study on memorial museums, *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities* (2007), where he examines the global rise of memorial museums and their role in shaping collective memory.

While Hartley (1953) and Lowenthal (2015) use the metaphor of a foreign country to contrast the past with the present, the past can also literally *be* foreign in what the

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translation scholar Sherry Simon (2018) refers to as 'translation space', where cultural and linguistic tensions persist across time in contexts such as colonial histories, border cities and migrant societies. In such cases, the earlier inhabitants of the same territory may have spoken different languages and belonged to distinct cultures. Understanding that past, therefore, is much like navigating a foreign country – a process in which translation plays a crucial role.

The metaphor of the past as a foreign country also shifts our attention from the temporal to the spatial dimension of human activities. Space emerged as a major focus in the social sciences at the beginning of the 20th century and challenged the earlier prioritisation of time – a tendency “manifested through the lens of historicism” (Warf and Arias, 2009, p. 2), where human events were organised along a linear, unfolding temporal axis. The spatial turn, led by key thinkers such as Henri Lefebvre (1991), emphasises that space is not merely a neutral backdrop against which historical events took place, but is socially constructed and shaped by ideological forces as well as its users' subjective experiences (Warf and Arias, 2009, p. 3). By centring on the physical space shared by people past and present, it provides a tangible anchor for everyday practices, memories and the records that preserve them.

This research project carries out a case study examining the Red Fort,² a heritage site in Taiwan, and how it was recalled in the 19th century, as recorded in *Journal of a Blockaded Resident in North Formosa During the Franco-Chinese War, 1884–5* by Scottish merchant John Dodd. The Red Fort has been chosen for its significance within Taiwan's heritage restoration projects (再造歷史現場 [Regeneration of Historic Sites]) led by the Ministry of Culture, Taiwan (n.d.), and its complex history of construction and management under various colonial powers and foreign regimes. Dodd's journal has been selected for its detailed account of how he and other British nationals sought refuge in the Red Fort during the Sino-French War. The text offers a rich description of the physical features of the fort and the experiences of those who took shelter there; and it has served as an important historical reference in the Red Fort's restoration, as documented in restoration project reports (Li, 2019; Lin, 2020).

From this spatial perspective, this article explores the intersection of translation, memory and space as mediated through the museum exhibition and translated literature. It examines how the translation of a foreign traveller's journal, which is referenced in the restoration project of the Red Fort as a heritage site, is reimagined within the Red Fort's exhibition space. Such spaces – including the physical display room, the museum's digital interactive platform and historical theatre activities organised by the museum – are collectively conceptualised in this paper as translation spaces. Specifically, the project asks:

² Over time, the site has been known by different names, including Fort Santo Domingo, when it was first established by the Spanish in 1628, and Fort Antonio, following its takeover by the Dutch in 1644. Today, it is known to Taiwanese visitors as 紅毛城 (Hong Mao Cheng), literally 'Red Hair Castle', a reference to the red hair of the Dutch. This is also the official Mandarin name used by the museum, so I adopt it as a general reference for the site in this article, while acknowledging its historically shifting names across languages and periods.

How do the mediated translation and the reconstructed heritage site together create a reimagined space?

2. Translation space and a spatial framework

The spatial turn has been influential in social and humanities studies, and it has also been subject to engagement from researchers in the field of translation studies. The growing body of research on translation and space, notably inspired by Sherry Simon's works on 'translation spaces' (2018) and 'translation sites' (2019), has shifted the focus of translation studies from intangible discursive meanings to tangible geographical spaces. Simon defines multilingual cities as a space "where more than one language group feels entitled to *the same territory*" (Simon, 2021, p. 18, emphasis mine). A translational view of space thus draws attention to competition between languages and the flows in the directions of translations from one language to another, rather than assuming their co-existence.

Within physical spaces, acts of translation and their traces manifest in diverse material forms, such as shop signage and road signs, as well as conversations in grocery stores and local markets. In other cases, the surface of the city may appear monolingual and display a homogeneous linguistic landscape, but traces of users and uses of different languages can still be revealed in the stratigraphic layer of history – such as historical buildings and memorials; this is often with the cases of border cities. In yet other cases, the material traces are almost invisible and inaudible, but deliberate excavation – physically, as in archaeological work, or textually, through research using historical data – can reveal a hidden page in the history of the place. In such cases, it is hardly surprising that decisions about whether to uncover, preserve or erase the material traces of particular language users and their practices are shaped less by the past than by present concerns. As Westphal (2011) argues, exploration of the past "imagines the form that a place can virtually adopt" (p. 143). In this process of reimagining the past of a translation site, Simon (2019) argues that translation "participates in the aggression of overwriting, obliterating former histories" (p. 7) – that is, the past is reactivated and reconstructed only to serve present-day interests.

The link between literary writing and its geographical reference is particularly explored through the literary approach called 'geocriticism', or literary geography, which can be described as:

a way of looking at the spaces of literature, broadly conceived to include not only those places that readers and writers experience by means of texts but also the experience of space and place within ourselves, our *situatedness* in space as a condition of our own existence (Tally, 2019, p. 49, original emphasis).

A key point in this theory is that geographical writing is not simply about archiving, describing or gathering descriptive information of a place, and it is not evaluated based on how 'accurately' it records a material space. Rather, the act of writing is an act of constructing space based on the relative positions of the characters, the writer and the

readers. Geocriticism views every writer as a cartographer and asserts that writing is an act of mapping that “makes place, establishing relations and assigning various levels of significance to different spaces and places” (Tally, 2019, p. 5).

Studies on geocriticism have drawn their understanding of space and place from human geographers such as Tuan (1977) and Lefebvre (1991). They regard space as an empty, three-dimensional physical entity without inherent meaning, which is then transformed into place when “humans invest meaning in a portion of space and then become attached to it in some way” (Cresswell, 2015, p. 17). Building on this distinction, space remains open to interpretation, with literature providing a crucial tool for imbuing space with meaning and shaping its affective significance.

To examine how the space of the Red Fort is constructed through museum exhibitions and literary translation, this study follows the triadic model of space from the field of human geography (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996) to break down the focus of space into material, imagined and experiential components.³ ‘Material space’ encompasses the empirical measurable and mappable phenomena, which include the physical features we can associate with a geographical location and that can be located using Global Positioning System (GPS), for example. ‘Imagined space’ is how the space is represented in modes such as maps and literary writings. ‘Experiential space’ is where everything comes together – including the physical, the imagined, as well as the subjective experiences of the users (those who visited the site, for example, in the case of this project). This space has, in particular, been much elaborated by Soja (1996) as ‘thirdspace’, which he argues is not just a combination of the other two spaces, but a ‘thirling-as-othering’ space that is “subjected to a creative process of *reconstructing* that draws selectively and strategically from the two opposing categories to pen new alternatives” (p. 5, original emphasis).

In this project, Soja’s ‘thirling-as-othering’ can be understood as the creation of new meaning within a space that extends beyond the affordance of its material space and the individual memory as recorded in a traveller’s journal. This enquiry into what can be extended beyond the combination of the material space and the imagined space also resonates with Tally’s (2019) key argument: “Geocriticism must examine not only the real-and-imagined places of literature but also the conditions for *their possibility*” (p. 43, emphasis mine). With its primary focus on the literary representation of space, geocriticism offers two key insights. First, the imagined space in literature can never provide an ‘accurate’ depiction of a physical location. Like other forms of spatial representation – such as maps, drawings or photographs – literary renderings capture only a specific perspective, at a particular moment, based on the creator’s subjective judgement about what is worth portraying. Many aspects of a space – such as its odours, temperature or the broader

³It is worth noting that since Lefebvre first proposed the spatial triadic model in his influential work *The Production of Space* (1991), it has been widely applied to different types of spaces, with varying emphasis on the factors driving their construction. The three dimensions of space have thus been given different labels over time – for example, as ‘first/second/third’ spaces; ‘perceived/conceived/lived’ spaces; or ‘real/imagined/experiential’ spaces. For present purposes, I have chosen to use the terms ‘material’, ‘imagined’ and ‘experiential’ to better reflect the nature of the data and the specific focus of this study.

context beyond the cartographic frame – are inevitably lost. Second, and more importantly, the value of literary representation does not lie in its precise mirroring of a geographical reference. Rather, it should be understood as a generative act that imagines new spatial possibilities beyond the limits of physical space.

3. Negotiating the translation space: discordant translation

Central to Westphal's concept of geocriticism is the notion that researchers should gather as many literary representations of a physical space as possible, so that different perspectives can be examined, thus bringing us closer to the 'accurate' depiction of the material space. Tally (2019), however, suggests that analysing a single work can also be valuable, as it reveals important insights about the individual writer's subject experiences (p. 49). I align with Tally's perspective and agree that achieving an accurate representation of a space is impossible – and, more importantly, that it should not be the goal, as space is constantly constructed and reconstructed. In this project, however, with its focus on a translation site and a translated literary work, the multi-layered and stratigraphic dimensions are already inherent in the analysis.

The translated literary work can be seen both as a dialogue between two voices and as a clash of two viewpoints. The position of the producer of the source text (ST) can be reinforced, challenged or overshadowed by – or co-exist with – the translator's during the translation process. In literary translation, Herman's (2014) concept of discordant translation specifically examines the interplay between the dual voices of the translator and the author, which highlights the literary devices that enable the translator to open up new possibilities within the ST.

In my case study, the literary space that was initially recorded through the gaze of a 19th-century Briton residing in Taiwan is retold by a contemporary translator for present-day readers. The readers of the target text (TT), while inhabiting the same geographical location, have experiences of the place that differ significantly from those of the past, so a bridge needs to be made between the ST producer and the TT receivers.

To understand how the translator negotiates the imagined space in the text and manages the relationship between the ST producer and the TT receiver, we can draw a parallel between the translator–author relationship and the author–narrator dynamic in fiction. Benstock (1983) offers an insightful discussion on how literary devices such as footnotes allow the author to interrupt the narrator, pausing the primary text to draw readers' attention to the author's presence. Frequent interruptions through notes shift the focus and subordinate the storyline to the annotations. This shift can lead readers to question the narrator's credibility and the reliability of the story being told, especially when the narrator makes statements that seem unconvincing or nonsensical. Footnotes allow the author to intervene and guide readers to interpret such elements as irony, symbolism or deliberate stylistic choices.

Similarly, in translated works framed by paratextual information such as translators' notes and prefaces, the translator's voice becomes more pronounced. These interventions

shape how the ST author's voice is perceived or, in the words of Hermans, "stage the author's voice" (2014, p. 189), thus influencing interpretation and reader engagement. Hermans refers to this phenomenon as 'discordant translation', which is an extension of Cohn's (2000) concept of the 'discordant narrator'. Indeed, Cohn describes cases, similar to those outlined by Benstock (1983), where an author presents a narrator or fictional character whose speech or actions subtly signal the author's reservations or disagreement with their perspective. In discordant translation, the translator adopts a similar role and frames reservations about the ST author's voice. This effectively casts the ST author as the narrator while positioning the translator as "the authorial presence" (Hermans, 2014, p. 292), thus shaping which aspects of the author's voice are conveyed and how they are represented.

Hermans (2014) argues that the cultural and social significance of translation lies in the fact that it attaches value judgements to the ST and acts as an ideological filter shaping the reception of the translation (p. 298). In essence, translators perform the ST before TT readers, thus influencing its reception and interpretation. To go back to the concept of creating new possible space, we can argue that the new possibilities of the literary text (e.g. John Dodd's memories, as recorded in his own writing) are created when the translator frames this memory in a way that signals to readers whether or not it should be viewed as reliable. In this process, a 'thirthing-as-othering' (Soja, 1996) space emerges from the ST through the performance of the translator and, subsequently, the incorporation of this translated work as an important reference to the restoration project of the heritage site.

4. Reimagining Formosa

The Red Fort is a key heritage site within the Taiwanese government's cultural initiative, 'Regeneration of Historical Sites' (Ministry of Culture, Taiwan, n.d.). This project is focused on restoring Taiwan's multicultural past through collective memory and has led to the transformation of ruined heritage sites into exhibitions, as well as a surge in the (re)publication of translated accounts from foreign residents and travellers. These historical records, which often refer to Taiwan as 'Formosa', are explicitly cited in the regeneration project reports (e.g. Li, 2019; Lin, 2020), thus highlighting their role in shaping contemporary narratives. By integrating the memories of foreign travellers and settlers, these restoration projects not only transport visitors to the past but also to foreign perspectives – literally embodying Lowenthal's (2015) notion that 'the past is a foreign country'.

To provide some background, Formosa is the geographical term referring to the island of Taiwan that appeared in the historical record of Western colonisers and powers. Legend has it that the term was first used by Portuguese sailors — as the feminine form of the Portuguese adjective meaning 'beautiful' — and then adopted by the Spanish and the Dutch, who very briefly colonised part of the island in the 18th century. The island has since been under the control of the Qing Dynasty of China and of Japan, and now has the

controversial status of 'Republic of China' – or, as some prefer, the geographical term 'Taiwan'. With this political tension, we have seen a more recent discourse start restoring the nostalgic term 'Formosa', once imagined by the foreigners, to represent the island in English.

Amid political tensions and an ongoing identity crisis, there has been a surge in efforts to redefine the island and its people by re-examining their historical connections within the wider world. Heylen's (2010) examination of a "transnational Taiwan as a cultural and historical imaginary" (p. 10) comments on the crucial role of integrating 'translational history' with historical sources drawn beyond the Sino-centric sources as an alternative way of seeing. There appears to be a deliberate effort to create an alternative construction of space – a new possibility that emerges from its existing material substance and extends beyond the frameworks established by Chinese-based historical accounts, many of which originate from Qing Dynasty sources. Consequently, it has been noted that, corresponding with the trend of awareness about Taiwan in the 1990s, there has been an increase in the translation of historical record of foreigners who resided in or travelled to Taiwan from the 18th century to the early 20th century (Lin, 2013). Most of these texts are the diaries or journals of individuals about their lives in Taiwan. While these individual memories do not provide a comprehensive overview, and the accuracy of their record of the past may need to be verified, they provide a vivid picture of what living in Formosa during those times was like – what the weather was like, the characteristics of the people on the island and what food they ate, for example.

In parallel to the excavation of the memories of these foreigners, there has also been an endeavour to create 'sites of translation' throughout the island – that is, an attempt to reconstruct the sites that had been established by foreign colonisers or settlers or associated with them – most notably, the Red Fort, or Fort Santo Domingo (established by the Spaniards in the north) and Fort Zeelandia (built by the Dutch in the south). These tangible sites facilitate tourists' imaginings of how Spanish and Dutch were once spoken on the island. The Red Fort especially functions like a tangible record of foreigners' footprints on Taiwan; the fort was first established by the Spanish, conquered by the Dutch, much neglected during the Qing regime and then subsequently became the site of the British consulate. After the UK broke its diplomatic ties with the Republic of China, the site was temporarily managed by Austria and the United States, until both of them also cut diplomatic ties with the Republic of China. The site contains a long memory of the island and was finally designated as a Class A heritage site in 1983. Since then, it has become an important stage for the reactivation and performance of the multicultural memory of Formosa.

In the following sections, I explore this process of reimagining Formosa from two perspectives: first, the Mandarin translation of John Dodd's memories associated with the Red Fort, by closely examining the journal he wrote when he took refuge inside the fort for three months during the Sino-French war in 1884–1885, and second, the reconstruction of

the Red Fort as a translation space. I illustrate how the two processes of recreating both the physical site and the imagined space reinforce each other.

5. Reimagining Dodd's Red Fort in translation

The Mandarin translation of John Dodd's journal was published in Taiwan in 2007. The translator is Jackson Chen [陳政三], and it was given the title '泡茶走西仔反：清法戰爭台灣外記' (literally, 'Brewing Tea and Battling the Xi-Zai: An Unofficial Account of the Qing-French War in Taiwan'). The cover page explains that the term 西仔 (Xi-Zai, literally, 'Western lads') in the title was how the Taiwanese at the time referred to the French. Additionally, the phrase 'brewing tea' evokes the image of British tea merchants in Taiwan, who, unable to export their tea due to the war, could do nothing but sit and drink tea while they waited.

Even before opening the book, the creative translation of the title signals to readers Chen's flexible and inventive approach. The European gaze in Dodd's work is shifted by the translation of this title – from 'Franco-Sino' to 'Qing-French' War – and the reference to the French as 'Xi Zai' is a product of the local Taiwanese gaze on Westerners, not Dodd's. The author–translator relationship in this translated text is explicitly questioned on the book's cover, where John Dodd is credited as the author and Chen as the 譯著 (literally, 'translator–author'). This unconventional term is further clarified in the preface:

修訂版全書十三萬字，原著譯文近六萬，換句話說，其他七萬多字全由筆者「囉嗦」包辦了(所以就「升格」為譯著者；原用「譯述」讀者不太瞭解其意，用「譯註」又無法涵括)，算是與傳奇人物陶德的再度跨時空合作。

[The revised edition⁴ totals 130,000 words, of which nearly 60,000 words are translated from the source text. In other words, the remaining 70,000-plus words are my 'verbose' contribution (hence [my] upgrade to 'translator–author'. The previous version used the term 'translator-narrator', but it confused readers, whereas the term 'translation-commentator' does not fully cover this work). [This work] can be seen as a renewed, cross-temporal collaboration with the legendary figure, John Dodd.⁵] (Chen, 2007, p. 3)

Chen's self-declaration of his role at the outset, along with the emphasis that he has added more than half of the material in the book, serves as a clear strategy for framing the relationship between the ST author and the TT reader. It positions Chen as a more central figure in the book than Dodd, the ST author. The translation thus shifts the book from a Westerner's gaze on Formosa to a local Taiwanese perspective on a Westerner's story of living in Formosa.

⁴ In the preface, Chen (2007, p. 1) notes that this edition is a revised version of an earlier translation published by a different publisher in 2002. With that publisher now closed, the 2002 edition is no longer available. As the 2007 edition is the one referenced in museum restoration projects, this study does not examine the earlier version or compare the two.

⁵ All English back-translations of the Mandarin text in square brackets have been made by the author unless otherwise indicated.

Another clear shift of the gaze is Chen's translation or addition of the word 'foreigner', including 外國佬 (literally, 'foreign bloke'), 洋鬼子 (literally, 'foreign devils') and 外國蠻子 (literally, 'foreign barbarian'), which are either derogatory or colloquial local expressions that have historically been used to refer to Westerners and imply that Westerners are uncivilised or inferior. This shift of gaze on the space allows examination of the geographical location of the space from different perspectives.

Chen's additions are most visible to target readers in the form of five 導讀 (*dao du*, literally guides to reading), which precede the five chapters. At the end of the book, he appended 30 short stories of his own, recounting historical events from the same period. Throughout the translation, the 250 footnotes Chen added repeatedly interrupt Dodd's voice and remind TT readers of his presence, sometimes visually occupying nearly half a page. Table 1 gives an overview of the of footnotes Chen created, showing how he engaged in a dialogic relationship with the ST author. The total number exceeds 250, because some footnotes are lengthy and perform more than one functions, therefore falling into multiple categories.

Table 1. Footnotes in the translation

Footnotes	Functions	Instances	Percentage
Directly responding to Dodd's text	Explain	22	9%
	Challenge	22	9%
	Approve	8	3%
	Subtotal	52	21%
Not directly responding to Dodd's text	Add historical context	195	77%
	Clarify translation strategies	7	2%
	Subtotal	202	79%
Total		254	100%

The table is broadly divided into two categories of footnotes. The first consists of notes that respond directly to Dodd's writing – that is, those explicitly referencing his name and specific wording or expressions in the ST. The second category, while still related to the ST, does not explicitly refer to Dodd or his views; instead, these notes read more as a parallel narrative that reflects the translators' own knowledge and insights into the events recorded in the diary's historical context.

Table 1 shows that the majority of the footnotes (79%) are Chen's additions; they do not directly respond to Dodd's words but provide additional contextual information – historical, social and religious, among others. As a historian specialising in this historical period, Chen incorporates numerous references from Qing China, Japan and France to offer further details about the wars, global politics and local practices. These comments are not always purely explanatory; many also convey Chen's personal views. For instance, when Dodd recorded celebrating Queen Victoria's birthday on 24 May 1885:

Queen's birthday! Even in this remote corner of the world the birthday of Good Queen Victoria is never forgotten. (Dodd, 1888, p.155)

Chen adds a note that is not necessary for understanding Dodd's diary, but instead reads as an effort to engage readers in a point he personally wished to share:

維多利亞女王在位期間(1837-1901年)有部分與三度垂簾聽政的慈禧太后(1861-1908年主政)重疊，一西一中，表現得南轅北轍，一個重振日不落國威風，一個卻搞垮東方文明大國。

[During the reign of Queen Victoria (1837–1901), there was a period that overlapped with the rule of Empress Dowager Cixi, who governed three times from behind the curtain (effectively in power from 1861 to 1908). One in the West and one in China, their trajectories moved in completely opposite directions: one revitalised the British Empire, while the other brought about the decline of a great Eastern civilisation.] (Chen, 2007, p.125)

Such notes shift the reader's engagement away from Dodd as the ST author and redirect it towards an interaction with the translator – or in this case, with Chen as the translator–author, creating what is almost a parallel narrative alongside the main text.

Chen's translator–author status is even more explicitly established through footnotes that respond directly to Dodd's writing. In 22 instances, Chen elaborates on or clarifies Dodd's account, while in another 22 he corrects or challenges the reliability of Dodd's observations. Interestingly, Chen also asserts his authority over Dodd by occasionally endorsing Dodd's observations, thus positioning himself as someone able to evaluate and validate Dodd's account.

Chen's challenges to Dodd extend beyond matters of historical detail, such as place names or casualty figures. His most direct interventions concern Dodd's position during the war and the side he appears to support. In doing so, Chen guides readers in reassessing John Dodd as a narrator whose account is not entirely reliable and whose recollections invite scrutiny. During the period of the blockade, many local people in Taiwan suspected that the British supported the French and might even have been acting as spies. Chen raises this suspicion in the preface, in the reading guide preceding one of the chapters and in several footnotes. For instance, in the entry on 25 October, Dodd wrote about how he and his employers were unfairly charged as spying for the French

For some time past it has been rumoured that certain Chinese have been in communication with the French, and suspicion for the past day or two has fallen on a foreigner. [...] However, as the matter was placed in the Consul's hands, it will be perhaps as well not to make any further comment, especially as the writer was the man unjustly suspected and his Chinese employee. (Dodd, 1888, p. 69)

While Dodd asserts the injustice of this accusation, several footnotes by Chen guide readers towards a different interpretation, such as:

陶德報導充分顯露希望法國勝利的立場 [...], 難怪陶德會被懷疑私通法國, 成了列管的「黑名單」 [Dodd's reporting fully revealed his hope for a French victory [...], so it is not

surprising that he was suspected of secretly colluding with France and was placed on a monitored 'blacklist'.] (Chen, 2007, p. 84)

In addition to his political stance, Dodd's observations of Taiwan's local customs and culture also face Chen's criticism. In one entry, Dodd (1888) describes the scene of a local temple ceremony and comments that the josses are "either printed black or have become dirty in appearance for want of soap" (p. 164), an expression that Chen translates faithfully into Mandarin. However, he adds a footnote commenting on Dodd's 'white superiority':

有的神像式因長久香火煙燻，而成黑色。陶德筆調狀似幽默，但其實帶著白人優越感的歧視寫法。

[Some statues have turned black from long exposure to incense smoke. Dodd's tone appears humorous, but it actually carries a discriminatory undertone rooted in white supremacism.] (Chen, 2007, p. 131)

These comments about Dodd – particularly his stance during the Sino-French War and his exoticised view of local festival practices – clearly demonstrate how differing perspectives are negotiated through translation to influence the reader's perception of the ST author. The 'dialogue' that takes place between the translator and the ST author shows that the translator reports the author's voice alongside more visible strategies such as prefaces and notes, but also less visibly through omission and word choice. The book is Chen's heavily mediated report of Dodd's diary, rather than direct contact between the contemporary Taiwanese reader and Dodd.

From the analysis of the translation, it can be argued that, rather than attributing the imagined space directly to John Dodd's diary, it is more accurate to see it as a reimagined space produced through Chen's substantial mediation in his role as translator–author. This observation raises a further question: when Dodd's journal was used as a key historical reference in the site's restoration project, whose memory is being presented to visitors, and to what extent is the translator's stance visible within this space?

6. Reconstructing the Red Fort: combining the physical and the imagined

Although the history of the Red Fort can be traced back to 1628, the earliest material evidence of its history is a few bricks left from the Dutch period. The main structure of the current building is left over from its use as the British Consulate, but the site itself has undergone various renovations. In other words, the significance of this historical site perhaps rests not so much on its functioning as material evidence of the past, but rather on its role as a vehicle linking the past to the present. The museum exhibition is instrumental to facilitating the imagination of this travel to the past. By exhibition, I refer not only to the physical display, but also to the museum's interactive digital platform and theatrical performances. This expanded perspective captures more clearly how history is constructed at the site. In particular, the restoration project starting in 2017 placed greater emphasis on activities extending beyond the physical exhibition rooms – likely due to the

limited alterations permitted to the historic building – such as online interactive exhibitions and theatrical performances designed to create more immersive experiences of the past.

The exhibition constructs the Red Fort – and, more broadly, the city – as a translation space, where British residents once lived among local communities whose languages and cultures differed markedly from their own. The stories of several residents are interwoven in the exhibition narrative, including those of consuls and their families. Here, however, I focus specifically on references to Dodd, using his case as an example to show how his story enters the site and contributes to the construction of its historical narrative.

In the exhibition room, the most visible indication of the site's former foreign residents is conveyed through a display of their portraits– some in portrait form, others captured in scenes of daily activity – as well as material objects that once belonged to them. Figure 1 depicts Dodd (bottom) and his comprador Li (top), accompanied by a panel introducing the story of his tea enterprise.

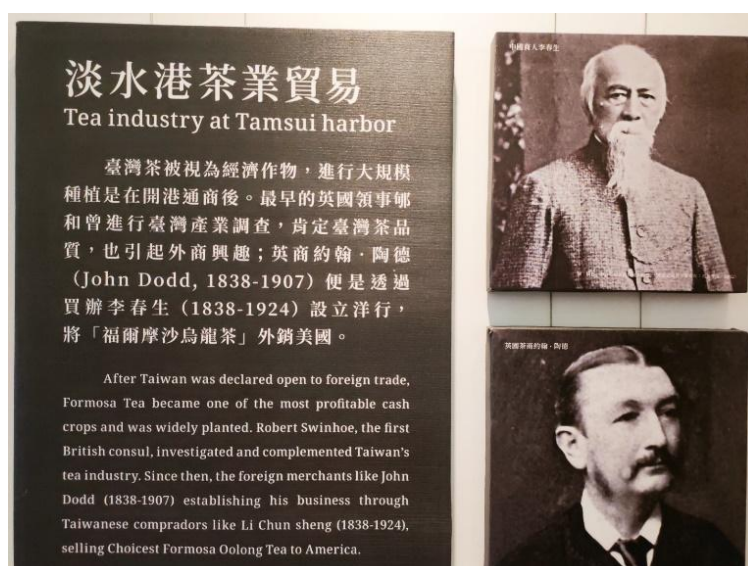


Figure 1. Text panel: 'The Tea industry at Tamsui harbour' (photo by the author). Image reproduced by permission of Tamsui Historical Museum, New Taipei City [新北市立淡水古蹟博物館].

While Dodd's presence in the exhibition room is limited to his portrait and a brief description of his business career, the museum's online exhibition: 'The 160th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Tamsui Customs' (Tamsui Historical Museum, n.d.) offers a more direct engagement with his life as recorded in his journal, with references to his diary clearly cited. This online exhibition features an interactive game with multiple challenges, in which prominent British residents of the city are reimagined as gatekeepers. Among them, John Dodd appears as the gatekeeper of a boating event, adapted from an activity recorded in his diary. The sensory engagement with the boats is vividly described in Dodd's diary and has been turned into a multimedia game:

29th December. At 10 o'clock precisely the regatta commenced. The first was a rowing match between three local gigs (6-oared), Chinese crews. The second was a race between three six-

oared gigs with foreign crews. The "Stokers" won, beating the other two crews of blue jackets. Then came a canoe race. After tiffin there was a sailing race between the *Cockchafer's* boats and local gigs. [...] The prizes amounted to close on \$150, the highest being \$20 (Dodd, 1888, p. 95).

This diary entry led to the following passage on the website:

划船賽/ 早上十點英商陶德舉辦的划船比賽，正式開跑！總獎金高達150元！吸引許多隊伍熱烈報名。第一場比賽由三支在地隊伍互相對抗，第二場有英國海軍在內的三支外國人隊伍競爭奪牌，下午更由英艦金龜子號船員對戰在地隊伍，戰況十分激烈！連舢舨船都被用來比賽。

[Rowing Race/ At 10 a.m., the rowing competition organised by British merchant John Dodd officially began! With a total prize of 150 yuan, it attracted many enthusiastic teams to sign up. The first race featured a contest among three local teams. In the second race, three foreign teams – including members of the British Navy – competed for medals. In the afternoon, the crew of the British ship *Cockchafer* faced off against a local team in an intense battle, with even sampan boats used for the races!] (Tamsui Historical Museum, n.d.)

After this passage, a reference is added to indicate that it is an adaptation from Dodd's diary entry on 29 December 1884, although there is no mention of the Mandarin translation. What is particularly interesting here is how Dodd's memory has not only been translated linguistically into Mandarin but was been further transformed into a different semiotic mode: a digital game that is both visually and sonically interactive. The gaze of the narrator has shifted once again. In the diary, Dodd observes the race, but in this reimagined virtual space, he becomes the organiser of a racing boat game staged by British soldiers, while we, the contemporary readers, take Dodd's place as observers of the game.

Earlier, in the discussion of triadic space, I drew on Soja's (1996) notion of 'thirding-as-othering' as a process of reconstruction, which selectively and strategically draws from both imagined and physical space. Here, the exhibition curators of the Red Fort, as readers of Dodd's diary (already a highly mediated Mandarin version), effectively assume a role as a further mediator: they recreate the written material into visual form – again selectively and strategically – within the framework of the restoration project, the goal of which is to revitalise the ruined physical site through stories, memories, and visitor engagement. In this further layer of mediation, Dodd's memory is reimagined through a different semiotic mode – digitally interactive visual signs with their own affordances. The more critical elements of Chen's translation have been removed, as has Dodd's implicit sense of white superiority. Within the limited space of the exhibition, his memory is selectively deployed to create a playful, visualised representation of a group of British people as friendly, cartoon-like figures.

Dodd's memories, as recorded in his diary, have been incorporated into the exhibition in a variety of material forms. For instance, in addition to these onsite and online exhibitions, an annual 'historical site theatre' (古蹟劇場) with live performances is also held at the Red Fort site, featuring actors in period costumes portraying John Dodd, other British figures, Qing officials and local residents in an effort to recreate life around the fort

during that era. In this reimagining, Dodd's memory is brought to life by a local Taiwanese performer speaking Mandarin, thus creating a further mediated interpersonal encounter between his memory and the performer-viewer, beyond the interactions between Dodd, the translator and the reader.

Due to space constraints, this section can only provide a necessarily brief snapshot to show that Dodd's memory has been creatively woven into the Red Fort as a translation space in various modes – as an excerpt from his diary, a visual interactive game and a theatre performance. References to his journal are clearly cited on the website, but the translation is not cited. However, the restoration project documents and the research project team's report make clear references to Chen's translation. In fact, they clearly notice Chen's high degree of mediation and give their approval. In the working reports of the Historic Regeneration projects, Chen's translation is credited as an important source for the restoration project. Crediting Chen's voice over Dodd's is evident in the additional information they provide alongside the reference to John Dodd's diary:

文章內容很多是他個人對於戰爭的臆測。[...]譯者陳政三為了提高此書之閱讀性，特別在本書有疑誤之部分也補充了相關史料，進行了考證與詳細說明，確立了陶德書中之說法是否正確。

[Much of the writing is his personal speculations about the war. [...] the translator Jackson Chen has supplemented sections containing potential errors by providing relevant historical sources, conducting thorough investigations and offering detailed explanations to determine the accuracy of Dodd's claims.] (Lin, 2020, p. 137)

In short, the mediated version of Chen's translation has clearly shaped the restoration project that integrates Dodd into the Red Fort. However, while Dodd is made visible to the visitor, the translator is not. So how should we account for this dynamic between the ST writer, the translator, and the exhibition curator – who collectively construct the lived space of the Red Fort?

7. Conclusion

This research project asked: How do mediated translation and a reconstructed heritage site together create a reimagined space? By analysing the written translation of Dodd's memories of the Red Fort, as recorded in his diary, alongside the multimodal exhibition curated by the Red Fort Museum drawing from that diary, we can see that new possibilities emerge beyond what the material site and the textual record alone can afford. This reimagined – or 'thirding-as-othering' – space (Soja 1996), is generated through the selective and strategic combination of these two spaces into a new possible space.

New possibilities arise in the written translation through literary devices such as prefaces, footnotes and additions that constantly interrupt the ST author, thus elevating the translator to the status of a translator-author. The exhibition space also generates new possibilities through an assemblage of semiotic resources – including visual portraits, interactive digital games and live theatre performances – which selectively incorporate

aspects of the translated diary into the visitor experience. Intertextual links can be traced across these stages; however, Dodd's memories become increasingly distanced from their original temporal and spatial context.

Returning to Lowenthal's (2015) account of the contested past, we can observe how the ST writer, the translator and the exhibition curator – through their voices, the affordances of different semiotic modes and a layered approach to storytelling across temporal and spatial intersections – engage in a dynamic interplay, yet also compete, to produce a version of the Red Fort's past that leaves an imprint on contemporary readers and visitors.

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